APPENDIX E
AMERICAN INDIAN TRADITIONAL CULTURAL VALUES
(FROM DEAVER 2001)

Historical Context

The project area lies within the historic range of the Hidatsa as defined by 1) Hidatsa oral histories and sacred texts; 2) the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851; and 3) current scientific reconstructions of Hidatsa prehistory and history (see Bowers 1948; Wood 1967; Winham and Lueck 1994; Toom 1988). The historic Hidatsa once consisted of three distinct groups. Two groups, the Hidatsa-proper (People of the Willows) and the Awaxawi (Village on the Hill), moved into the Missouri valley relatively late (circa 1500 AD). The third group, the Awatixa (Village of Scattered Lodges) traces their origin to the Missouri River near the mouth of the Knife River (Ahler et al. 1991:28). The ancestors of the Three Affiliated Tribes have been in the project area longer than any other tribal group (Winham and Lueek 1994). The Hidatsa-proper were called the Minnetaree (People Who Crossed the River) by the Mandan during this historic period and are ancestral to the River Crow. In some historic sources, the Awaxawi are also sometimes referred to as Minnetaree, as well as Amahami and Saultier. The term Gros Ventre is sometimes used to refer to all three groups or just to the Hidatsa-proper (Deaver 1986; Schneider 1986).

Today, the Hidatsa are one of three tribes, along with the Mandan and Arikara, who make up the Affiliated Tribes of Fort Berthold. Although the Affiliated Tribes maintain separate ethnic identities and communities on the reservation, they share many cultural patterns that serve as a basis for all three groups' interest in the project area. In addition, the Crow maintain an active interest in the project area due to their historic and spiritual ties to the Hidatsa. They continued to make pilgrimages from their reservation in Montana to sacred sites (e.g., 32ME59, Grandmother's Lodge) near the project area as late as the 1950s (Deaver 1986:83-103). The Hidatsa and Crow continue to regard each other as relatives. Generally, as a matter of courtesy and respect, the Crow usually defer to the Hidatsa regarding the treatment of North Dakota sites.

Nomadic Plains groups, the Assiniboine, Chippewa/Ojibiwa, Cheyenne, Yanktonai and Sioux also moved through Central North Dakota in the last 200 years. They raided, traded, and occasionally allied themselves with the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara. The documentary record for the Yanktonai presence in the project area is most complete.

A Lower Yanktonai winter count indicates the Yanktonai penetrated as far west as the Missouri River by 1724, when an encampment was made on the lower Grand River, South Dakota (Howard 1976:28). Yanktonai winter camp locations described in the John K. Bear winter count range northwest from the lower Big Sioux River to the middle James River, and from there, west across the Missouri River to the Killdeer Mountains of West-Central North Dakota (Howard 1976:28- 41).

Some Yanktonai were in the Killdeer Mountains from 1760 to 1830. From 1831 to 1860 these Yanktonai lived in the village site across from Washburn known as Ice Glider (Howard 1976; Wood 1986). "Upper Yanktonai informants have told me that their people hunted and wintered on both sides of the Missouri as far north as Painted Woods, near present Washburn, North Dakota"(Howard 1976:5). They considered these areas on the border of their territory.

The relationship between the Yanktonai and the Mandan, Arikara and Hidatsa was complex and changed over time. Episodically they shifted from being enemies to trading partners and allies--they intermarried and occasionally the Yanktonai fought side by side with the villagers against the Teton Sioux.

The historic ceremonial activities of the Mandan, Arikara and Hidatsa have been described in detail by ethnographers (Bowers 1950, 1965; Schulenberg 1956; Will 1928, 1930a, 1930b). Furthermore, they have been compiled and explicitly related to archaeological manifestations and TCPs (Deaver 1986; Deaver and Manning 1992).

Hidatsa and Mandan

According to Hidatsa religious discourse, all supernatural powers have their origin at the beginning of time when the earth, or "in between" land, was formed. During the formation of the earth, First Creator and other mysterious figures created a number of supernaturals from which the Hidatsa could acquire power and, consequently, ensure their continuing existence by performing particular rites. These powers are acquired through vision quests. In the case of the Hidatsa, older brothers took younger ones to fasting centers when ceremonies including fasting and personal sacrifice were practiced (Bowers 1965:290- 295).

The Hidatsa, like the Mandan, performed a series of bundle ceremonies on a calendrical basis to ensure the universe would continue to function properly. Like the Mandan, the Hidatsa conducted many of these group ceremonies in their riverine villages. However, some bundle ceremonies needed to be conducted in upland locations.

Whereas offerings to the spirits represented in sacred bundles were ordinarily placed on poles within or adjacent to the summer villages, offerings made to the Earthnaming bundles were placed near the various buttes while out of the villages on summer buffalo hunts. Of these buttes, four were known as "Buffalo Spirit Places": Buffalo Comes Out Butte, Singer Butte (Killdeer Mountains), Buffalo Home Butte, and Rosebud Butte. At each of these buttes, offerings of feathers from the speckled eagle were made to increase the buffalo herds. The feathers were tied in bundles to buffalo skulls and placed near caves situated under overhanging cliffs* * * (Bowers 1965:436). The area defined by the "Buffalo Spirit Places" encompasses the project area and so the Earthnaming Bundle provides a clear link between the landscape of the project area and the spiritual qualities of the earth recognized by the Hidatsa.

Effigies found in the uplands also provide a material culture link between Hidatsa and Mandan theology and the landscape. Most effigies were boulder outlines of turtles and snakes. Generally, they are located on high bluffs along the Missouri River. The head of the turtle effigies point to the river. Historically, cairns associated with these effigy figures are related to individual offerings made to clear fogs so that buffalo herds could be found (Bowers 1965:337n):

> The next night we camped by a circle of stones in the form of a turtle. The gods had arranged these stones, the older men said, for none living had ever seen one of these effigies made. There was a hill nearby and on it was a pile of rocks. The turtle's head was pointed to the river because the turtles stay in the water so the gods must have arranged all the turtle outlines that direction. . . Anyone could make offerings of knives, pieces of hides, or dry meat and other things to eat when asking for rain or other good luck such as living to be old. If they had children they would ask the gods that go with the turtle to send good luck. To give to the turtle was the same as giving to all the other gods that went with the bundle (Crows Heart in Bowers 1965:370).

Historically when away from the riverine villages, the owners of the Big Bird, Missouri River and the Creek bundles performed hunting ceremonies at various stone effigies associated with these bundles (Bowers 1965:369-370).

Arikara

Arikara ceremonies like that of the Mandan and Hidatsa centered on ceremonies associated with sacred bundles. None of the ceremonies could be performed until at least one, and preferably more, of the bundles was opened on the altar at the back of the sacred lodge. Only those that owned the bundles had the sacred knowledge required to perform these ceremonies. All ceremonies were preceded by a one-day rite of purification known as the Sage Dance, which included fasting and ritual bathing in a sweat lodge. The Sage Dance required white body paint obtained from special clay in the Little Missouri Badlands, which was used at no other time (Will 1930a:247-249 and 1928:56).

Arikara ceremonial lodges are associated with large boulders. According to Howard (1972:299-300), the Yankton, other Dakota groups and the Arikara viewed large boulders as sacred/*wakan*, and the locales of these stones were regularly visited for prayer, prophecy and ceremonies. Two of the best-known examples of these sacred stones are the Tunkan or Oracle Stone [originally located near the mouth of the Turtle River near Redfield, South Dakota] and the revered *Inyan* bosdata or Standing Rock, now located at Fort Yates, North Dakota. According to Howard, both of these were originally Arikara monuments or shrines:

> In each of the Arikara villages there was a sacred stone in front of the sacred or ceremonial lodge where the tribal bundles were kept. This stone represented Chief Above, the Creator. Beside it stood, during ceremonies, a cedar tree which represented Mother Corn, who had led the people from their original homeland underground. . . It would seem likely that these sacred stones, left behind by the departing Arikara, would be treated with veneration by the Dakota invaders . . . who would weave their own interpretations about them (1972:299-300).

Sioux and Assiniboine

Historically, the most basic spiritual concept for all of the Sioux groups and the Assiniboine is *wakan*. There is extensive literature devoted to *wakan* in Siouian thought and theology (Rodnick 1938; Densmore 1918; Brown 1983; DeMallie 1984; Dorsey 1894; Huitkrantz 1981f; Feraca 1963, Neihardt 1961; Powers 1975, 1982; Howard 1984 and Walker 1917). Linguistically the term is made up of two particles wa- and kan.

According to Little Wound and George Sword, "Wa means anything which is something." *Wakan* means something that is kan. "Kan," according to George Sword, "means anything that is old that has existed for a long time so that should be accepted because it has been so in former times or it may mean a strange or wonderful thing or that which can not be comprehended or that which should not be questioned or it may mean a sacred or supernatural thing. . ." (Walker 1983:27).

In Sioux and Assiniboine theology, the *wakan* can be manifested in particular topographic features, e.g., cliffs that contain round rocks. Monumental stone features such as medicine wheels (Deaver 1982; Kehoe and Kehoe 1959) and stone effigies (turtles and snakes) are often used or interpreted as marking *wakan* areas (Deaver 1981; Howard 1972). The *wakan* may more easily be contacted in certain locations. Therefore, vision quest sites are associated with

isolated topographic features, particularly in the rugged topography of mountains and hills and around large bodies of water and isolated islands. At least two kinds of rocks are *wakan*. One is like an ordinary stone, but it makes you pick it up so that you can recognize it by its special shape (Lame Deer and Erdoes 1972:101); and the other are tiny ice like rocks collected from anthills (Lame Deer and Erdoes 1972:123). Walker also specifically notes that cliffs with round rocks in them and rock are *wakan* (1980:101-103). Rock art is *wakan*. This is often because it marks the site of a vision quest and/or depicts supernatural events and/or communication (Deaver and Fandrich 1999).

Howard's description of Yanktonai eagle trapping indicates that the ritual closure of the pit may generate a stone ring with a diameter of 10+ meters:

> After the trapper had removed the feathers from his eagle, or eagles, he returned to his eagle-trapping pit, bearing the remains of the bird encased in sage. This he placed in the center of the pit, together with the stuffed rabbit skin lure. The eagle carcass was placed on its back, the head to the west, and tobacco was sprinkled over it. Stones were then placed upon it and the pit was filled in. A circle of large stones, about thirty-five feet in diameter, was laid around the area, designating it as an owanka *wakan*, or "holy place." Judge Zahn commented that many of the so-called "tipi" rings derived from this custom, and pointed out that many of these are situated on high bluffs, which would be ideal for eagle trapping sites but very poor as camp locations (Howard 1954:73).

All Sioux groups and the Assiniboine practiced the vision quest whereby an individual petitioned the *wakan* for aid. The vision quest included preparatory ritual purification (usually involving a sweat bath), preparation of the fasting locality, isolation of the individual from the community for a set period (commonly 4 days), making offerings to the *wakan* (tobacco, calico flags, flesh, sweet grass, sage and so on), fasting and praying. Preferred localities for vision quests for all the Sioux groups and the Assiniboine are secluded. Generally, the most common localities are isolated topographic features such as buttes, hills, cliffs, ledges and so on. Locations near water, and hence, the Underwater Powers were also commonly used as sites for vision questing (Deaver 1981; Howard 1984; Powers 1975, 1982; Rodnick 1938).

Successful vision quests can result in the petitioner receiving communication from the *wakan*, including directions for collecting material items to be used as personal insignias of power. When collected, these items make up the personal medicine bundle. Common components of medicine bundles are pipes, eagle feathers, stones, pigments, plants etc. These items have associated sacred texts, songs, dances or dance steps and rules concerning their use and curation. The only bundle resembling a tribal medicine bundle is the Buffalo Maiden Calf Pipe Bundle. This bundle was given to a culture hero along with seven ceremonies including the Sun Dance (c.f., DeMallie 1984; Feraca 1963; Neihardt 1961; Powers 1975).

Both the Assiniboine and Sioux build and use sweat lodges prior to vision questing (Powers 1975:90; Rodnick 1938:30). Additional individual activities directed toward petitioning the supernatural include placing offerings (stones, tobacco, cloth flags) in remote locations (Deaver 1981:3.16; Dorsey 1894:448-449; Howard 1984:104-105; Powers 1975:50 and 1982:14; Walker 1980:101-103) and the collection of holy rocks by spiritual specialists (Lame Deer and Erdoes 1972:101, 103).

The Sun Dance of the Teton and Assiniboine, like that of the Yanktonai, includes a great amount of ritual diversity. Each Sun Dance leader uses his experiences and visions in order to structure the ritual. There is no one accepted form of the ceremony. The aboriginal Assiniboine and Teton dance lodges were constructed by combining several tipis (Lowie 1910; Mails 1973; Rodnick 1938). The modern Teton lodge is constructed of two rows of forked ash posts that form concentric circles with an opening to the east. These posts are joined with saplings and pine trees and brush is laid across them to form a shaded area where spectators will watch and participants will occasionally rest. The diameter of a contemporary lodge is approximately twenty-five feet, but may vary widely (Powers 1975:66). According to Feraca, the interior of the dance lodge is completely open to the sunlight and the spoke-like rafters radiating from the center pole. Common to other Plains tribes, dance lodges have never been a feature of the Teton Sun Dance lodge (1963:13). As is the case with other Plains tribes, the lodge is not torn down after the ceremony. It is left to deteriorate from exposure and thus return to Mother Earth (Powers 1975:100).

Today, the Sun Dance, the sweat lodge, the *Yuwipi* ceremonies and the vision quest are the centerpoints of traditional religion. In addition, for many Sioux and Assiniboine they are symbols of ethnic identity as well (Deaver 1981; Mails 1978; Powers 1975, 1982).

Tribal Perspectives

The descendants of the Mandan, Hidatsa, Arikara, Sioux and Assiniboine who follow traditional embrace a world view that emphasizes the inter relationships between the past and present, the living and dead, the people and environment and the spiritual and physical aspects of life. Time, from this perspective, is not only a chronological ordering of events, but it also has a quality and texture, which exists in the past, present and future.

Time, or more accurately tradition, establishes the rationale and basis for living in the proper fashion. From this per-

spective, there is often an intimate relationship between a person and his past. Time, or the past, provides a template for the proper way of life. It legitimizes the present by showing it is related to things that have gone before. The spirits present at the creation of the world continue to be present in the landscape today. This is why a person making a fast today, or a Yuwipi man during a ceremony, can communicate with the spirits and be given guidance. This guidance can include direction for the appropriate treatment and interpretation of stone feature sites.

The location of a cultural place (archaeological site or historic property) is interpreted as evidence that ancestors recognized the physical and spiritual characteristics of the landscape, which made it an appropriate place to camp, fish, hunt, gather, fast and so on. Because Indian people today can still recognize these same physical and spiritual characteristics of the landscape, there is a continuing tie between the people and the landscape of yesterday and today. It is this sense of relationship that is important.

A connection to one's ancestors is highly valued. Consequently, cultural places must be shown respect. People visit cultural places, sometimes praying and making offerings. This allows them to renew their ties to these places and the historic landscape in general. In other words, these cultural places become the focus of pilgrimage. The spiritual and physical qualities of the place, as well as its traditional cultural use, are important characteristics that transcend time.

The most important change in the Affiliated Tribes relationship to their land base in modern times came with the 1955 construction of the Garrison Dam and the subsequent inundation of the Missouri River bottomlands. The Garrison project reduced the land base of the reservation by 150,000 acres. More importantly, the flooding destroyed Like-A-Fishhook, Grandmother's Lodge and other traditionally important cultural places. It flooded cemeteries, traditional shrines and literally all of the reservation communities. Ninety percent of the reservation inhabitants were forced to move (Schneider 1986:105-106).

The construction of Garrison Dam forever changed the Affiliated Tribes relationship to their spiritual, cultural and physical environment. Not surprisingly, those sites that were not flooded have become even more important because they represent heritage and spiritual ties to the land that are seen as endangered. Sites in the project area have great significance to the peoples of Fort Berthold. The creation of Lake Sakakawea combined with extensive lignite mining and intensive mechanized agriculture has greatly limited the number of sites that the Indians with historical cultural ties to western North Dakota can access to renew their ties to the landscape. Further, those sites now remaining have already been impacted because the meaning of places is partially derived from their association with other places. Thus, places assume a great significance in Indian history. Many locations are sacred because of the events that occurred there or because the supernatural seemed to be very close at that site. Warm springs or unusual rock formations were obviously areas of special power that figure prominently in Indian histories (Schneider 1986:46).

Children are taught the traditional cultural significance of these special places:

> . . . it was the custom of many Hidatsa families to return to living sites and to point out to the younger people the depressions of lodges where certain relatives had lived, their graves or earth rings on the prairies where various ceremonies such as the Naxpike or Wolf ceremonies were held (Bowers 1965).

The traditional descendants of the Hidatsa, Arikara, Mandan and Yanktonai recognize both spiritual and physical qualities of the project area landscape. This includes various places recorded as archaeological sites.

Like their ancestors, contemporary traditionalists believe that when they live in a place they must harmonize their actions so that their actions are both physically appropriate and spiritually compatible. Today, as in the past, when a young person goes to fast, he consults with his Elders who direct him to locations that are physically appropriate, relatively isolated, private, secure and spiritually appropriate, a place known for the presence of spirits. A tribal consultant was directed by his father to go to a site in the project area to fast.

According to Hidatsa, Arikara, Mandan and Yanktonai beliefs, their ancestors, who lived in and traveled through the project area, also recognized the same spiritual and physical characteristics Indian people recognize today. They chose their campsites, set up their tipis, made tools, hunted buffalo and deer, collected plants, buried their dead, fasted, prayed and held council meetings in places that were spiritually compatible as well as physically appropriate for these activities.

Consequently, when the tribal cultural representatives are asked to evaluate sites, they look first where the site is on the landscape. They discuss the landscape in general and phrase their responses and evaluations in terms of both physical and spiritual characteristics of both the landscape and the material culture (features, lithics, etc.) used by archaeologists to define sites.

Stone feature sites are common in the project area. The tribal cultural representatives describe and evaluate these sites in terms of both spiritual and physical reasons why stone feature sites are in particular locations. They recognize the same sort of physical variables as those recorded by archaeologists, such as distance to water, availability of plants, panoramic views of the area and so on. Additionally, site loca-

tion/distribution patterns are read as physical representations of traditional beliefs. For the Yanktonai, for example, the location of ring sites relative to drainage patterns follow and mirror the spiritual pathways described in their creation stories.

Traditional Cultural Values, Stones, and Stone Feature Sites

Throughout their history, stones have been ceremonially important to all of the tribes involved in this project. Sacred stones recognized by the ancestors of the Three-Affiliated Tribes have been recognized, respected and honored by the later Siouian peoples as they moved in the area. Siouian peoples incorporated Arikara oracle stones into their belief systems because they had always-recognized *Inyan* (Stone), the Grandfather, and the first supernatural created by the Great Mystery. The sacredness or spiritual qualities of the stone features in the project area are part of the same tradition that recognized the sacred stones in Minnesota and eastern North Dakota.

This natural object [Rock *eya* (Sioux), *mih* (Mandan)] had physical properties as well as spiritual properties. From a physical point of view the Rock can protect you-to hide behind it in a storm or fight; it can cure you- heat them up to use during Sweat Ceremony; it can harm you-if someone threw one at you. From a spiritual point of view the rock can protect you-many individuals wear a small Rock in a pouch around their necks for protection against certain spiritual forces; it can cure you -certain Rocks can be rubbed until warm then used to touch certain ailing part of the body. In this way the Rock is a silent teacher. (Project Consultant, Personal Communication 2001)

Single stones, called glacial erratics by geologists, have long been recognized by the Sioux as having important spiritual attributes. They were used as a shrine where prayers and offerings were made. Even when forced to leave areas, the Sioux took measures to insure that these stones were treated respectfully. In this view stones are essential to spirituality. They are used in prayer. People communicate with *Inyan* through rocks. Stones are active in ceremony and must be respected (Project consultations, Personal Communications, 7/11-12/2000; see also Walker 1980).

According to Finger, a Lakota shaman interviewed by James R. Walker in 1915 on Standing Rock, *Inyan*, the Rock, was the first supernatural in existence. He is the grandfather of all things. *Inyan* is a part of a complex and intricate theology through which Lakota spiritual specialists or medicine people understand the world and their place in it. As in other communities, detailed theological knowledge is limited to people like Finger who devote their lives to its understanding. Traditionalists recognize that Rock or *Inyan* is a powerful spiritual being. He is prayed to and addressed as Grandfather. He is offered red prayer flags along with tobacco. He is recognized in the stone features found over the prairie, including the project area. Stone features are both a symbolic representation of His presence and a physical marker of His significance in the world. *Inyan* is the primal source of all things. People still pray and make offerings at stone features today.

Stone rings are powerful places. “When a person fasts in a circle [of stone], it is as if you are buried alive. You may not come out alive” (Tribal Consultation, Personal Communication 6/12/2000). Accordingly, rings provide a conduit from the person praying to the spirits above and there are potential spiritual consequences of going to the stone feature sites.

Stone features, described by archeologists as petroforms or effigies, are read as physical symbols of the continuing relationship between the spirit world and that of man. Effigies mark locations that have always been, and continue to be, appropriate places for fasting, prayer and making offerings, i.e. communicating with spiritual beings. The patterns made by the stones are recognized as representations of the spiritual qualities of the area. For generations people have visited these effigies and conducted ceremonies. They continue to use these places today. The tribal cultural representatives regard continued access to these sites as critical to their continuation as a people.

Cairns, stone piles created by men, may represent many different activities. They may be trail markers or contain burials. When grouped in lines they may be drive lines associated with hunting activity or prayer lines when associated with ceremonial activities. Cairns may be built all at one time or may be added to over the years by many different peoples. Cairns may hold offerings. Generally, the larger the cairn and the higher its profile the more likely it is to be associated with human remains or a particular ceremonial activity (Deaver 1986).

According to some traditional Sioux, all rock art is *wakan*. Further, it is in the male ceremonial realm.

Plants and animals are not spoken of as natural resources. Rather, they are described in biographical terms, as relatives. They are conceptualized and treated as persons. They are talked with and offered tobacco. They are part of the same community as humans. Just as the plant and animal people have a responsibility to provide food for the human community, humans have the responsibility to ensure that the environmental conditions suitable to sustaining the plants and animals are maintained (see King 1999 and Davis 2000 for similar concepts among the Chippewa/Ojibwe).

Early in the discussions with tribal representatives, a great deal of interest was expressed in the plants found in the project area. They were interested in seeing native plants being used in the revegetation plans and getting access to harvest traditionally important plants.